

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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Action

Control: 726  
Rec'd: JUNE 1, 1959  
5:35 PM

SS  
Info

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: CAHTO 57, JUNE 1, 8 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

~~EXC-SGY~~ AMBASSADORS (MOSCOW - CHARGE) *AND 901068* *8/23/59* *HR-m/SG*

FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF APPROVED MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION AT DINNER MAY 30 AT GROMYKO'S RESIDENCE. FULL MEMORANDUM BEING POUCHED.

GROMYKO OPENED BY STATING THAT ON PLANE AND AT PRIVATE MEETING MAY 29 HE HAD DONE MOST OF TALKING. WOULD LIKE HEAR MORE OF VIEWS OF OTHER MINISTERS. SECRETARY POINTED OUT GROMYKO HAD SAID HE COULD NOT TALK ABOUT CERTAIN PROPOSALS WE HAD MADE. THERE WERE CERTAIN THINGS WE COULD NOT DISCUSS. WHERE DID THAT LEAVE US? SOVIETS HAD RAISED QUESTION OF BERLIN AND WE HAD IN GOOD FAITH MADE PROPOSALS.

GROMYKO INTERJECTED THERE WERE SOME THINGS WE COULD DISCUSS LATER ON. HE HAD ALREADY MENTIONED TWO OR THREE POINTS. THESE INCLUDED: (1) DISARMAMENT; (2) A ZONE; AND (3) A NON-AGGRESSION PACT. GROMYKO CONTINUED THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT OUR PROPOSALS ON BERLIN AS BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AND WOULD NOT DISCUSS EXTENSION OF OCCUPATION REGIME TO EAST BERLIN. EAST BERLIN PART OF GDR. SECRETARY SAID THEN IT PERHAPS BETTER TO STATE WHAT WEST WOULD NOT DISCUSS AND THEN WOULD KNOW WHAT AREA LEFT IN WHICH POSSIBLE AGREEMENT COULD BE SOUGHT.

GROMYKO SAID COULD NOT AGREE THAT EVERYTHING WAS ALL RIGHT IN WEST BERLIN. ASKED WHAT IMPROVEMENTS DID WESTERN FONMINS SPECIFICALLY HAVE IN MIND.

SECRETARY SAID GROMYKO ASKING US GIVE UP OUR RIGHTS IN BERLIN. WOULD NOT DO THIS EVEN IF OUR TROOPS THERE ONLY SYMBOLIC.

IF SOVIETS TRIED UNILATERALLY DEPRIVE US OF OUR RIGHTS, NO TREATY WITH SOVIET UNION WOULD EVER BE ANY GOOD.

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901068-363

GENEVA CAHTO - J 1 6/11. 6/16-159

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-2-CAHTO 57, JUNE 1, 8 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO) FROM GENEVA

GROMYKO SAID DID NOT UNDERSTAND SECRETARY'S LOGIC. SOVIETS HAD RAISED QUESTION TO DISCUSS IT. THIS NOT UNILATERAL ACTION. DENIED HE HAD THREATENED UNILATERAL ACTION.

SECRETARY SAID BOTH GROMYKO AND KHRUSHCHEV HAD SAID IF WE DID NOT AGREE TO SOVIET PROPOSALS THEY WOULD TAKE UNILATERAL ACTION.

GROMYKO POINTED OUT THAT THEY WERE NOW IN PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION.

SECRETARY REPLIED THAT RUSSIANS SAID OUR PROPOSALS UNACCEPTABLE AND COULD NOT BE DISCUSSED.

GROMYKO SAID THIS TRUE ABOUT EAST BERLIN. ASKED IF WE WANTED THEM TO INTRODUCE OCCUPATION REGIME IN EAST BERLIN. SECRETARY SAID THEY HAD OCCUPATION REGIME THERE NOW.

GROMYKO DENIED THIS, STATING SOVIETS FULFILLING CERTAIN FUNCTIONS BETWEEN BERLIN AND WEST GERMANY AND THERE WERE CERTAIN RUDIMENTS REMAINING FROM TIME WHEN THERE HAD BEEN OCCUPATION REGIME IN EAST BERLIN. THEY HAD A MILITARY COMMANDANT IN EAST BERLIN WHO WAS CONCERNED WITH CERTAIN FUNCTIONS OF LIAISON WITH SOVIET ARMY BUT HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES. DID FULFILL FUNCTIONS IN CONNECTION WITH COMMUNICATIONS. THIS IN WESTERN INTEREST. SECRETARY ASKED IF THIS NOT WHAT SOVIETS HAD AGREED TO DO.

GROMYKO AGREED THIS WAS SO.

SECRETARY SAID THEY HAD THEN TRIED TO DESTROY THIS WITH BLOCKADE. WE HAD LIVED IN PEACE IN BERLIN FOR TEN YEARS, NOW THEY WISHED CHANGE WHOLE REGIME. SOVIETS HAD CREATED EAST GERMAN GOVERNMENT BUT IT HAD NO AUTHORITY. GROMYKO HAD UNDERTAKEN TO SEE WHAT EAST GERMAN GOVERNMENT WOULD DO IF AGREEMENT REACHED. IT PERFECTLY CLEAR GDR WAS CHILD OF RUSSIANS. GROMYKO SAID WITH SOME HEAT HE REJECTED SECRETARY'S WORDS AND ASKED HIM NOT TO PUT SUCH INTERPRETATION ON WORDS IN HIS PRESENCE. IT WOULD BE BETTER TO USE THEM WITH RESPECT TO WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT. [REDACTED]

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-3- CAHTO 57, JUNE 1, 8 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO) FROM GENEVA

SECRETARY SAID EAST GERMANS AND SOVIETS WERE SAME THING. HAD NEVER BEEN ANY REAL ELECTIONS IN EAST GERMANY. EAST GERMANS SPOKE FOR RUSSIANS. IT WAS BETTER THAT RUSSIANS SPOKE FOR BOTH.

GROMYKO SAID WE HAD NOT COME HERE TO DISCUSS ELECTIONS BUT PROBLEMS BETWEEN US.

SECRETARY SAID GROMYKO HAD ASKED US BE FRANK AND WE WERE BEING SO WITH RESPECT TO GDR. SOVIETS WANTED US TO RECOGNIZE GDR AS A STATE.

GROMYKO SAID THAT WAS UP TO US.

SECRETARY SAID WE WERE BEING FRANK IN TALKING IN REALITIES. ASKED IF IT NOT TRUE THAT SOVIETS WANTED US TO RECOGNIZE EAST GERMANY AS A STATE.

GROMYKO POINTED OUT THAT EAST GERMANY EXISTED. HE SUGGESTED WE NOT TALK ABOUT IDEOLOGY OR INTERNAL MATTERS BUT ABOUT PROBLEMS BETWEEN US.

SECRETARY INQUIRED HOW LONG EAST GERMANS REPRESENTED AT THIS CONFERENCE WOULD LAST IN OFFICE IF THEY SAID OR DID ANYTHING CONTRARY TO RUSSIAN WISHES. HE AGREED, HOWEVER, TO DROP SUBJECT. GROMYKO AGAIN SUGGESTED THAT SECRETARY NOT DISCUSS IDEOLOGICAL MATTERS. HE INQUIRED WHETHER WE THOUGHT SOVIETS COULD MAKE CONCESSION AFTER CONCESSION AND WESTERN POWERS GO ON SAYING THAT OCCUPATION REGIME ALL RIGHT. SOVIETS HAD EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS NEGOTIATE BUT THIS PERHAPS NOT UNDERSTOOD CORRECTLY. WESTERN POSITION SEEMED TO BE TO STAND ON SAME POSITION AND WAIT WITHOUT MAKING ANY CHANGE.

COUVE SAID WESTERN POWERS COULD HAVE TAKEN THIS POSITION BUT THEY HAD NOT. SOVIETS HAD RAISED QUESTION OF BERLIN AND WE HAD ANSWERED WE WERE READY TO LISTEN AND TO TRY TO UNDERSTAND AND SEE WHAT WE COULD DO TO ALLEVIATE SOVIET DOUBTS AND FEARS. SECRETARY HAD SAID WE COULD NOT GIVE UP OUR RIGHTS OR REMOVE OUR GARRISONS. NOW WHAT COULD BE DONE?

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-4- CAHTO 57, 8 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO) FROM GENEVA

GROMYKO ASKED IF THIS MEANT THAT EVERYTHING WAS GOOD IN WEST BERLIN. COUVE SAID THAT WE DID NOT COMPLAIN. GROMYKO SAID RUSSIANS DID.

LLOYD INTERJECTED TO INQUIRE WHAT THEY COMPLAINED OF. WHAT COULD BE DONE TO IMPROVE SITUATION THAT LASTED FOR TEN YEARS AND WAS NOT TOO BAD. GROMYKO ON PLANE HAD SAID THAT CERTAIN THINGS WERE OF NO GREAT IMPORTANCE. IN SPEECH TODAY IN PLENARY HE HAD SAID THEY WERE VERY IMPORTANT. WE ALSO HAD COMPLAINTS. SITUATION ABOUT OUR COMMUNICATIONS NOT VERY CLEAR.

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901068-366

INCOMING TELEGRAM

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Action

Control: 763  
Rec'd: JUNE 1, 1959  
7:12 PM

SS

FROM: GENEVA

Info

TO: Secretary of State

NO: CAHTO 57, JUNE 1, 9 PM (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

SENT DEPARTMENT CAHTO 57 REPEATED INFORMATION BONN 156  
LONDON 513 MOSCOW 293 PARIS 279.

EYES ONLY AMBASSADOR (MOSCOW - CHARGE)

GROMYKO POINTED OUT LLOYD AND COUVE HAD SAID SITUATION NOT NORMAL AND COULD BE IMPROVED (SECRETARY HAD NOT SAID SO). HOW COULD IT BE IMPROVED AND HOW FAR WOULD WEST GO? WHAT DID WE MEAN WHEN WE SAID ACTIVITIES OF CERTAIN AGENCIES COULD BE CHANGED? RIAS WAS NOT THE PRINCIPAL QUESTION. LLOYD SAID WE AGREED SITUATION WAS ABNORMAL UNTIL GERMANY REUNITED. WE AGREED ON A NUMBER OF THINGS, SUCH AS REUNIFICATION AT SOME TIME, FREE ELECTIONS AT SOME TIME AND A PEACE TREATY AT SOME TIME. HE SUGGESTED WE ANALYZE SITUATION OF BERLIN. THERE WERE THINGS TO SAY ON BOTH SIDES. HOW COULD 10,000 WESTERN TROOPS BE THREATENED. WERE THEY POLITICAL THREAT TO USSR? IF SO, THIS COULD BE EXAMINED.

GROMYKO SAID LLOYD HAD MENTIONED POLITICAL, MILITARY, PROPAGANDA AND ECONOMIC MATTERS. HE WANTED TO KNOW WHAT WE HAD IN MIND.

COUVE SAID WE WANTED TO KNOW WHAT WORRIED RUSSIANS.

GROMYKO ASKED IF HE HAD NOT SAID ENOUGH ALREADY. LLOYD SAID HE HAD NOT DONE SO SPECIFICALLY.

SECRETARY SAID WE COULD MAKE PROGRESS IF WE COULD GO FORWARD WITH SOVIETS ADMITTING WE HAD RIGHTS FLOWING FROM WAR WHICH WE RETAINED AND EXAMINE MATTERS WITHIN THAT FRAMEWORK.

GROMYKO ADMITTED WE HAD RIGHTS THAT GREW OUT OF WAR BUT SAID 14 YEARS HAD PASSED AND CERTAIN CHANGES HAD TAKEN PLACE IN GERMANY.

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901068 - 367

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-2- CAHTO 57, JUNE 1, 9 PM ( SECTION TWO OF TWO) FROM GENEVA

LLOYD SAID SPEAKING FRANKLY AND FOR HIMSELF, WE WANTED SOVIETS REAFFIRM OUR RIGHTS OF ACCESS AND RIGHTS OF WEST BERLINERS TO OWN FORM OF LIFE. WHAT HE THOUGHT SOVIETS HAD RIGHT TO EXPECT FROM US WAS TO EXAMINE BERLIN TO SEE IF IT IS POLITICAL OR MILITARY THREAT TO SOVIETS. TEN THOUSAND TROOPS ONLY SYMBOLIC. WE PREPARED TO LOOK AT PROPAGANDA AND SUBVERSIVE ASPECTS.

GROMYKO REPLIED IT IMPOSSIBLE TO SEPARATE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS; OCCUPATION REGIME AND PRESENCE OF TROOPS WAS ITSELF POLITICAL FACTOR.

SECRETARY INQUIRED WHETHER SOVIET TROOPS IN EAST GERMANY INFLUENCED GDR.

GROMYKO SAID IF SECRETARY INSISTED ON THIS KIND OF TALK HE WOULD HAVE TO RAISE QUESTION OF U.S. TROOPS IN FEDERAL REPUBLIC. HE SUGGESTED THEY CONFINE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION.

LLOYD ASKED IF GROMYKO DISPUTED WHAT HE HAD SAID.

GROMYKO REPLIED HIS REMARKS WERE TOO GENERAL.

COUVE INQUIRED WHAT WAS OF FIRST IMPORTANCE.

GROMYKO REPLIED THAT OCCUPATIONAL REGIME AND PRESENCE OF WESTERN TROOPS WAS OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE.

COUVE POINTED OUT WE HAD SAID WE COULD NOT CHANGE THAT.

SECRETARY OBSERVED THAT SOVIETS WANTED US TO GIVE UP OUR RIGHTS. WHAT DID THEY OFFER IN EXCHANGE? HE SUGGESTED WE TALK ON BASIS OF MAINTENANCE WESTERN RIGHTS.

LLOYD SAID PRESENCE OF TROOPS NO MILITARY THREAT. SO FAR AS OCCUPATION CONCERNED, WE WERE COMMITTED TO THAT UNTIL GERMANY REUNIFIED. POINT OF SUBSTANCE WAS WHETHER OR NOT WE COULD MAKE THINGS EASIER FOR ONE ANOTHER.

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-3- CAHTO 57, JUNE 1, 9 PM (SECTION TWO OF TWO) FROM GENEVA

SECRETARY SAID WE DESIRED LESSEN TENSION FOR TEMPORARY PERIOD. WE COULD TALK WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF MAINTAINING OUR RIGHTS AND RETAINING OUR TROOPS, ALTHOUGH NUMBERS OF TROOPS COULD BE REVIEWED. LLOYD SUGGESTED WE LOOK AT MILITARY AND POLITICAL ASPECTS. MILITARY NOT THREAT. HE COULD SEE POSSIBILITY OF POLITICAL THREAT.

SECRETARY POINTED OUT THIS WORKED BOTH WAYS.

GROMYKO SAID WHETHER 100 OR 10,000 TROOPS NOT IMPORTANT. PRESENCE ANY TROOPS SIGNIFICANT.

LLOYD OBSERVED THAT THIS THEN WAS END OF IDEA THAT THREE POWER TROOPS WERE ANY MILITARY THREAT.

SECRETARY POINTED OUT OUR TROOPS WERE IN BERLIN ONLY TO GIVE BERLINERS ASSURANCE THEY COULD CONTINUE TO LIVE AS THEY WANTED TO LIVE. GROMYKO HIMSELF HAD SAID THIS AND WE AGREED. GROMYKO DENIED HE HAD MADE SUCH STATEMENT. SAID WE DID NOT NEED TROOPS FROM MILITARY POINT OF VIEW BUT KEPT THEM TO MAINTAIN OCCUPATION REGIME.

SECRETARY ASKED IF SOVIETS WANTED OUR TROOPS OUT SO THEY COULD INFLUENCE WEST BERLIN. GROMYKO SAID THEY DID NOT WANT ANY INTERFERENCE FROM ANYONE IN LIFE OF WEST BERLIN.

COUVE POINTED OUT THAT THESE TROOPS WERE INSURANCE AGAINST INCIDENTS.

GROMYKO ASKED WHY WE KEPT TROOPS IF WE WERE NOT WORRIED ABOUT INTERNAL ORDER IN WEST BERLIN. GROMYKO ASKED IF THIS MEANT WE WISHED TO KEEP PRESENT ORDER UNCHANGED. IF SO, THIS MEANT TO MAINTAIN CONSTANT THREAT.

LLOYD POINTED OUT THAT BERLIN WAS AN ISLAND AND THIS WAS REASON FOR OUR TROOPS.

SECRETARY SUGGESTED MEETING ON MONDAY TO DISCUSS WHAT COULD BE DONE TO RELIEVE SOVIET FEARS AND POLITICAL TENSION IN

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4- CAHTO 57, JUNE 1, 9 PM (SECTION TWO OF TWO) FROM GENEVA

CONTEXT OF WESTERN MAINTENANCE OF THEIR RIGHTS AND THEIR TROOPS. SECRETARY SAID THAT GROMYKO SHOULD ALSO LISTEN TO OUR COMPLAINTS.

GROMYKO ASKED HIM NOT TO RAISE QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY.

SECRETARY AGREED.

FONMINS AGREED MEET AT SOVIET VILLA AT 3:30 P.M. JUNE 1.

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